2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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besides the remnants of the various Great Namaqua tribes, members of several other groups of Hottentots, who came in from south of the Orange River in the early part of the nineteenth century, when there was a general movement of the Hottentot peoples away from the European settlements. These incoming groups were the remnants of different tribes, mostly of Little Namaqua stock, who had, however, before their migration received a considerable infiltration of white blood. A great number of the men also spoke Dutch, and the general culture had in many ways been influenced by contact with the Dutch and other colonists. These groups are collectively termed *Oriams* by the indigenous tribes. The origin of this name is uncertain. The principal of them are the *||Aixa ||ain* or *Afrikaners*, in the south-east corner of Warmbad, along the northern banks of the Orange River; the *|Hobaon* or *Witbooi*, between Hoornkrans and Gibeon; the *!Aman* or *Berseba Hottentots*, round Bethanie; the *|Hai |khauan* or *Berseba Hottentots*, round Berseba; and the *Gei |khauan* or *Amraal Hottentots*, round Gobabis.

Other Hottentots of Little Namaqua stock are still found in fairly considerable numbers in Little Namaqualand, south of the Orange River. Their tribal cohesion and culture have, however, been completely destroyed by contact with the Europeans, and they have also absorbed a good deal of white blood. A few of the older people still know their own language, but the great majority now speak only Afrikaans, which is the regular medium of intercourse even amongst themselves.

In South-West Africa also the whole culture and power of the Naman has been hopelessly broken down. The history of all the tribes for the last century and a half has been one of incessant strife—first among themselves, owing to the dislocation caused by the groups coming in from south of the Orange River; next with the Ovaherero, advancing on them from the north; and last with the Germans, who finally broke down the tribal cohesion completely, except in the case of the Berseba Hottentots, who remained loyal to their contact with the Germans, and never fought against them. All the groups have further a great deal of mixed blood, brought into them first by their own relatives from the south, and then by intercourse with the Germans and other Europeans.

Numbers

These factors make it difficult to state accurately the present numbers of the Hottentots. In South-West Africa, according to

the lowest official figures available (1926), there are 15,376 people classified as "Hottentots".[1] No attempt appears to have been made to discriminate pure-blooded people from those of mixed blood, or to arrive at an estimate of the numbers belonging to each tribe, but the figure may be taken as on the whole fairly reliable. In the census reports of the Union, on the other hand, all the Hottentots are merged with half-breeds, Malays, etc., under the general heading "Mixed and Other Coloured". Consequently no idea at all can be formed of their present numbers, although there are undoubtedly still a considerable number of people, especially in Little Namaqualand, who from the racial standpoint can certainly be regarded as Hottentots. The latest population returns for what is now the Union in which the official classification "Hottentots" still appears are those of the 1904 census, which give the number of "Hottentots" in the Cape as 85,852, and of "Korannas" as 1,138, while the number of "Hottentots" in Orange Free State is given as 2,785.[2] By this time, however, the term "Hottentot" signified little more than "half-breed", and few of the people included under it were pure-blooded, although the number in whom Hottentot blood was strongly marked was officially estimated at 36,000.

Like the Bushmen, the Hottentots must be regarded as a disappearing people. In the early days in the Cape, and more recently in Orange Free State and South-West Africa, disease and war contributed to diminish their numbers, but by far the most important factor of all has been miscegenation, which has taken place on a very extensive scale between them and the European settlers and other peoples. A large proportion of Hottentot blood is to be found in the people still commonly spoken of in the Cape as "Hottentots", as well as in the various communities of recognized half-breeds, such as the Griquas, the Rehoboth "Basters" and the Komaggas "Basters"; but Hottentots of pure blood are now in a marked minority, and there is no reason to doubt that they too will ultimately become absorbed into the "coloured" population of South Africa. Their native culture, where it has not been completely displaced, has at least been considerably afflicted by the intrusion of European elements, and, except in South-West Africa, their own language is also steadily giving way to Afrikaans.

[1] *Report on the Administration of South West Africa for 1926* (U.G. 20-'27), p. 18.
[2] Quoted in *The South African Natives: Their Progress and Present Condition* (pub. by the S.A. Native Races Committee), London, 1908, p. 3.

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Gei //Khauan. The latter, whose founder was the eldest of the five brothers, are acknowledged by all the others to be the senior tribe among them. In spite of this claim to a common ancestry, however, the tribes have for a long time been independent of one another; although, according to Hahn, the chief of the *Gei //Khauan* received an annual tribute from the rest of the tribes up to as late as 1863.[1]

Each tribe has its acknowledged chief, *gao-aob*, and also an acknowledged claim to certain large permanent fountains or pools in river beds. Before the coming of the Orlams and of the white man the boundaries between the different tribes were not defined in any clear manner. Different waterholes or fountains in the country were always thought of as belonging to certain specific tribes, who used to wander about from fountain to fountain, seeking pasture for their cattle. Other people could use the water, too, but one tribe had a prior claim to it, established by habit, and had the right to expect that any other group intending to camp there for a long time would ask permission to do so.

The tribes do not seem to have ever been at all large. The number of people in each ranged apparently from several hundreds to a couple of thousand. It is difficult to obtain any trustworthy figures, owing to the great disruption that has taken place in the social organization of the people, but Palgrave's estimate, made at a time when conditions were less disturbed, may be taken as a useful guide to the relative size of the tribes in 1876. The Gei //Khauan then numbered approximately 2,500, the /Aunin 750, the //O Gein 800, //Khau /Goan 1,000, //Haboben 1,800, !Khara Gei Khoin 800, !Gami /Nun 2,000, Afrikaners 800, Witbooi 2,500, Bethanie Hottentots 2,000, Berseba Hottentots 700, and the Amraal Hottentots 600.[2] In 1923, however, of the still surviving Nama tribes the Gei //Khauan numbered only about 100 and the //Khau /Goan 200, while, on the other hand, the Berseba Hottentots, who had avoided all conflict with the Germans, were able to claim over 3,000 adherents.

The Clan

Each tribe was composed of a number of patrilineal clans (/*hau /aoti*, lit. things within the tribe), i.e. groups of people claiming to be related in the male line.[3] One of these clans claimed seniority, and

[1] Tindall (/Goan), 55.
[2] W. C. Palgrave, *Report of . . . Missions to Damaraland and Great Namaqualand in 1876*, 79, quoted by Hoernlé, *op. cit.*, 3.
[3] Hoernlé, *op. cit.*, 5–16; Olpp, *op. cit.*, 13; Kohler, *op. cit.*, 338–9.

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
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At the present day some of these tribes are extinct; that is to say, the tribal unity is totally destroyed, though one may still come across individuals claiming to belong to one or other of these tribes. But even where there is still a small remnant of people holding together under the leadership of a man whom they regard as a headman, or chief, the whole culture and power of the Nama is hopelessly destroyed. The history of all these tribes for the last 150 years has been one of incessant strife, first among themselves, owing to the dislocation caused by the incoming of the tribes from the south; next with the Hereros, a Bantu tribe advancing on them from the north; and last with the Germans who finally broke down the tribal cohesion completely, except in the case of the Berseba Hottentots, who remained loyal to their contract with the Germans and never fought against them.

All the tribes, further, have a great deal of mixed blood, brought into them first by their own relatives from the south, and then by mixture with the Germans. The generation which is growing up to-day in the Protectorate is practically all of mixed blood.

With regard to the numbers of these people, it is extremely hard to give any trustworthy figures. Palgrave, who was sent up to Namaqualand as a Special Commissioner by the Cape Government in 1876, to report on whether it was advisable for that government to assume responsibility for the territory, gives the figures of the various tribes as follows.[6] The figures are approximate: *Gei //Khauan* 2,500, *≠Aonin* 750, *//O Gein* 800, *//Khau /Goan* 1000, *//Hoboben* 1800, *!Khara Gei Khoin* 800, *!Gami ≠Nun* 2000, Africaners 800, Witboois 2500, Bethany Hottentots 2000, Berseba Hottentots 700, Gobabis Hottentots 600. Altogether, with a few groups not known to-day, the number in 1876 was 16,850. In 1921, the census returns estimated a population of 20,000 people called Hottentots,[7] but there was no attempt to discriminate the pure blooded from those of mixed

[6] Report of W. Coates Palgrave, Esq., of his Mission to Damaraland and Great Namaqualand in 1876. Cape Town: Printed by Saul Solomon & Co., 1877. [G. 30-77]. p. 94.

[7] *Cf.* Administrator's Report for S. W. Africa, 1922, p. 10. [U. G. 21-1923].

4: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913)1925
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blood, and there is no accurate estimate of the numbers belonging to the different tribes. The Swartboois, whom I visited in 1923, numbered a little over 200. The Rooi Natie cannot count 100 adherents, while the Berseba Hottentots now claim over 2000 adherents. Most of the Hottentots are, as a matter of fact, scattered about over the length and breadth of the country among the farmers and have no longer any tribal allegiance, for it was the deliberate policy of the German government to break up the tribes.

The present administration has set aside certain reserves for the remnants of the Hottentots. Three of these reserves are already established, viz., a large one for the Berseba Hottentots, a smaller one for the Bondelswarti, and a small one for the Swartboois in Franzfontein; and besides these there are some farms which have been given to small remnants of other tribes. In addition, a number of Hottentots of various tribes are to-day to be found in the territory of the Rehoboth Bastards, while one tribe, the *!Khara Gri Khain*, slipped across the border into British territory during the German-Hottentot war. The few survivors of this tribe are wandering to-day in the southern Kalahari. I have never come in contact with any members of this tribe.

It is obvious that the culture of a people so much harassed has suffered very greatly. It is, in fact, in the last stages of decay. After the rebellions against the Germans, the tribes were not allowed to keep "great stock," i.e., cattle, and only a limited number of sheep and goats, so that the old pastoral life fell more and more into decay. The people all claim to be Christians, and the influence of the Dutch, with whom they have long been in contact, can be traced in all of their institutions, even in their kinship system.

The social organization which I am about to describe, therefore, relates almost entirely to the past. The details of it have been gathered with great difficulty from the old headmen of the tribes, and much of it is little known to most of the younger generation.

If we study what I have called a tribe more closely, we shall find that in all cases it is composed of a number of patrilineal sibs,

According to statistical returns the Nama tribe numbers 21,000 souls. Half a century ago their number was estimated at 10,000. It is thought that the Nama do not belong to the tribes which are becoming extinct, for their disposition enables them to change their mode of life from a nomadic one to an industrial and settled one with more ease than is the case with the Herero. [61] 178

IV. Nama or Lower and Culture.

1. The oldest form of Nama hut is the dome. In order to construct such a dome-shaped hut they bend moderately thick wooden poles and erect these in a circle 3-4 metres in diameter, driving them into the ground surprisingly quickly by means of a stick made for that purpose. When every hole is furnished with a pole, these are bent inwards evenly and fastened together by means of leather straps; then poles of the same thickness are tied horizontally round this trestle. Rush matting is now placed over the trestle and fastened to it. According to the arrangement of the huts their villages exhibit a circular formation, an opening in the hut —towards the inside of the village—is left uncovered so as to serve as an entrance. This opening may be closed by means of a piece of rush-matting which just fits into it and is fastened to a cross-pole suspended about three feet high, which can be rolled up and fastened or let down. In a minimum of time such a hut can be pulled down, packed on an ox and erected at the new site in a day. It has this advantage too that it is very airy and yet protective against the inclemency of the weather, as the rush swells with the first drops and practically entirely shuts out the rain. The rush hut is just the ideal residence for a nomadic tribe with no fixed abode. 342 [61]

These huts have become rare in the present day as rush is not often obtainable. Instead of rush they now use sacking, pieces of tin they have picked up, etc. The building of four-cornered huts with one or even two rooms made of wood or corrugated sheet-iron is becoming more and more popular. 342 177

2. The furniture consists of the so-called "Katel," a wooden frame with a network of leather straps connecting the four sides, used as a bed. In olden times their bed was merely a slight excavation in the floor of the house, but the more comfortable bedsteads of the white man appealed to them. Tables and chairs are not unusually found in the Nama huts, but it very seldom happens that a woman is found sitting on a chair. It is the privilege of the men to make themselves comfortable on the low little wooden chairs with seats made of leather thongs. The visitor to a neighbour for a little chat often carries his chair with him or has it carried by one of the children. 352 177

11: Maingard Q-5 (1931-1932) 1932
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Korana

STUDIES IN KORANA HISTORY, CUSTOMS AND LANGUAGE

By Professor L. F. MAINGARD, M.A., D.LITT.

I. THE PROBLEMS—A GLIMPSE INTO THE PRESENT-DAY LIFE OF THE KORANA

[10] 11

The Korana are a branch of the Hottentot race. They are a very interesting people from many points of view and they present a field of study still fresh and as yet imperfectly explored. To the historian, the mystery of their origin is still a fascinating problem, for they may still perpetuate the original Hottentot tribes who lived at the Cape when it was discovered by the Portuguese. To the physical anthropologist there is much yet to learn respecting their relationship with the rest of their Hottentot brethren, and indeed, with the other races of South Africa. The social anthropologist and the ethnographer are arrested by the remnants of the ancient customs of a tribe which was for a long time, even with its European contacts, a genuinely pastoral one, and by the gradual transformation and even the disappearance of these ancient customs and their changed mode of life. The strange clicks, the tones and the peculiar structure of their language, are another aspect of this people, and one that, because of its unique position in the midst of the Bantu and Bush languages, has still many unsolved problems.

[10]

The Korana live, in the present century, in small groups scattered widely over the central portions of the Union. They are a vanishing race. In the middle of last century their numbers were estimated by competent authorities at 20,000, and, in spite of the absence of accurate statistical data for the present day, it does not appear that more than 1000 exist now. If any attempt is to be made to solve the problems that confront the student to-day, it is imperative to go into the field and collect as much of the fast-disappearing fragments of their customs and traditions and language as may be garnered before it is too late.

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Many people—authors, and reliable authors,—have asserted that "the Korana is extinct." I made it my business to verify their statements. My historical inquisitiveness and my researches into the African

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[2] of the Cobbing Collection at the University and of the Municipal Library of Johannesburg, had convinced me that that could not be the case. Thanks to the kind assistance of my friends, Rev. H. R. Higgs and Mr. C. Lehrer, of Bloemhof, and I must also add, thanks to the good offices of Rev. John Monaheng, the Native minister at Bloemhof, I was able to discover the remnants of the once numerous tribe—the Links Korana—at Bloemhof, which I visited in December 1931, and February 1932.

[3] [6] [7] My knowledge of their language created rapid contact with them. I found in the location about twenty-five of them—all that remains apart from a few stray farm hands in the district and perhaps also on the Free State side of the Vaal River, living their lives apart from the Bechuana who surround them, and preserving the ancient language of their forefathers. But the pastoral life over the vast veld, the countless flocks and herds, exist no more; their old customs, because of the influence of civilisation and of Christianity, have gone.

[5] I tried to pick up the broken threads of their old tradition and of their former culture. The old men helped me. There was *Tabah*, a descendant of the old chieftain stock, once a fighter in the battle of Mamusa (1852) a man of almost seventy or eighty; *Trink*, the nephew of the old chiefs of the Links, a slightly younger man; *Saul* was *Erk*, the son of *Willem*, the Caretaker of Rev. Brandt of the Saron Mission Station, nearly as old as *Tabah*; *Matiti*, with wrinkled face and bent double with old age and nearly, if not over 100; *Juli*, still older, a wizened old figure of a man, almost through age, and old *Dank*. This last of the old generation was recounting his memories and mentioned "Boomplaats." That word gave me a clue to his age. It is, as is well known, the name of a battle fought in 1848 between Andries Pretorius and the English. *Dank* said he was a grown-up man at Thaba 'Nchu, a Mission Station a short distance east of Bloemfontein, when he saw the Boers of Pretorius rushing through after their defeat. If we take twenty years, as a minimum, to mean the age of "a grown-up man," then he would be at least 104, and probably much more, for he called *Matiti* "a boy." His appearance did not belie his great age. He was nothing but skin and bone, very tall and slightly bent, blind, but extraordinarily active physically and mentally. His speech was quick and his memory amazing. An expert musician, he was of great help to my colleague, Professor Kirby, who accompanied me on my second trip. Such was the group of old men, three of them centenarians, who are now the repositories of the tribal lore of the Links and of their ancient traditions.

The old women, *Khoi*, the wife of *Tabah*, a stately dame, of the royal lineage of Mamusa, *Gonie* and *Mois*, two very old, wrinkled

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The well-watered and fertile grasslands of this part of the highveld provided a suitable range of pasture-grounds to the numerous cattle of the tribe which, at that time, "contained 700 or 800 Korana," a very large population to be assembled at one spot, with its large retinue of Bushman hangers-on. Their wealth in cattle gave rise to a regular trade between them and the neighbouring Bantu tribes—the Bechuana and the Lgheyza—in which skins and presumably cattle were bartered for corn, tobacco, and no doubt those household utensils and articles of ornament which had been the staple of exchange in the earlier days of their ancestors on the Orange River.

In their periodical "treks," the Links do not seem to have gone back to their first home on the Harts River, as is attested by the traditions collected at Blaauwhof,[1] but they seem to have wandered for years after along the banks of the Vaal River. For it is unquestionably this selfsame tribe that the Wesleyan missionaries, Broadbent and Hodgson, encountered on their way to the Barolong chief Sifonello in the Maquassie Mountains in 1823.

After a long journey of fifteen days from Campbell, covering between 250 to 300 miles with the slow and laborious ox-wagon, long after passing the junction of the Hart and Vaal Rivers, on January 9th, 1823, the first Korana kraal, that of Chudeep, came into sight. There they were received with the usual Korana welcome, a "bamboes" full of milk, but the chief wanting to keep the missionaries among his tribe, detained his cattle. They, however, proceeded to the next kraal, under Chief Kheisebokae, where they noticed the novel scene of the dismantling of the little rush-mat huts of the kraal, in view of a rapid "trek." The whole countryside was in mortal dread of the massacring horde of Mantatees, and the news of their arrival had caused this hasty "packing up" of the dwellings on the backs of the oxen. The missionaries soon joined Sifonello and established their station at Maquassie.[2]

Retracing his steps from the Station on December 22nd, Hodgson visited again a series of kraals, those of *Chudeep* and *Bantee*, with its population of 200 or 300 people, and that of Chubon, besides passing two or three smaller "villages."[3] This tour of inspection, which lasted five days, seems to have carried the conviction that the number of Korana

[1] See Historical Texts.

[2] Broadbent, pp. 20-26. I had the pleasure in May 1932 of visiting the ruins of Maquassie station, through the kindness of Thos. S. Leask, Esqr. of Wolmaransstad.

[3] Broadbent, p. 89-91.

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175 659 797 261 For fully fifteen years, the Links continued to occupy the Saltpan and the country around. This relative stability of their occupation was in a large measure due to the establishment of a Mission Station near the Saltpan by the Berlin Missionary Society.

Samo—that was its name—was founded in June, 1647, by Johann Schmidt, who discovered a large field opening up to his activities. Besides the kraals of the BaMairi—a branch of the Barlaping under Matlabane—the Links themselves were estimated to number at that time 1,000.[16] This large population lived in important but scattered groups under their separate captains. At Samo itself, Gert Harvip, a tall, imposing old man of over ninety years of age and his son, also named Gert, ruled.[17] Further to the east, along the Bamboes Spruit, a northern tributary of the Vaal River, was another numerous section of the tribe under Oerson,[17] and to the south of the Vaal River, near its junction with the Vet River, some more kraals, possibly under Hermanus Links.

[14]

175 619 797 To hold together such large and widely-flung numbers of Korana in whom the peculiar conditions of their economic life,—a purely pastoral one—and in a dry country of poor pastures, had ingrained, for centuries, the necessity of nomadic habits, was the great and pressing problem of the Mission. The letters and reports of Johann Schmidt to[18] the parent Society in Berlin are a long and woeful tale of his pathetic efforts in the struggle to keep them near the Word of God. On one occasion, when he had absented himself for a few days to visit his colleague, Rev. Ross, he found on his return all the little rush-mat huts packed away and the station nearly deserted.[19]

[14] Old Harvip, in the characteristic Korana manner, within three years, had wandered eighteen times for distances varying from half a mile to three miles from the station.[20] He was obdurate to the good words of Schmidt and had become inimical to the teaching of Christianity among his people.

175 619 721 Nor were the century-old habits of a wandering life the only difficulty. A war or rather a cattle-lifting raid of the Links against the

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16 B. M. J. 1848, p. 36-37.
17 B. M. R. 1853, p. 80.
17 B. M. R. 1853, p. 81.
18 B. M. R. years 1848-1854.
19 B. M. R. 1850, p. 202
20 B. M. R. 1853, p. 84.